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slings of banana-fibre with a base of the heavy spathes of the areca-palm) and set off for the taro gardens, or they may tie round their waists the little baskets which they use to catch fish in the rock-pools or to store the shell-fish they collect from the reef at low tide. Almost every day a small party goes off on a bartering expedition, to meet the women from some other village with goods for exchange. The more energetic of the men will be flourishing bush-knives or fishing-rods; one may seize a spear and announce his intention of going to hunt wild pig, to the huge delight of all the dogs in the village, who signify their approval in the usual canine fashion, and there is no peace in the village till he has disappeared with them into the bush. A party may be told off to work on the government road in order to keep it in sufficiently good condition to avoid a scolding from the A.D.O. on his next visit. Eventually, most people go off somewhere, either to work or to laze, unless there is a house being built or a canoe being finished, in which case some of the men will set to work on it, in rather desultory fashion. The boys wearing the *upi* depart in a gang on some ploy of their own, the girls have either gone with their mothers or are left to look after the younger children, and usually one or two adults also remain in the village, having chosen not to work to-day. They do not like prolonged concentration on anything, and if I ask somebody, especially a young man, what he is going to do to-day, I shall very likely get the answer: 'Nothing, I worked yesterday.' There would seem really to be some justification for the universal complaint of the older men that the young men nowadays are lazy! The women do not bring back from the taro garden enough provender for more than a day or two at a time, so they cannot take as many 'days off' as their menfolk do. The very few really industrious families have probably built themselves a shelter of banana leaves beside their taro patch, and will not come near the village for days together. Those who remain in the village spend a good part of the day in sleep. Women with small babies, or minding those old enough to be left by their mothers, sit about on the back verandah or on prostrate logs, fondling the infants. For a time, in the early afternoon, the village is quiet.

In course of time the women come back with their baskets of shell-fish or their loads of taro or firewood, carried on their backs as we carry a rucksack. The little girls go off to the water-pools in the bush and return with the family's water-supply—for all purposes—in a dozen or so cleaned-out coco-nut shells.

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Occasion.	*Transactions.*
10. Marriage ceremony. Usually not until boy has taken off *upi* and girl has been through her first menstruation ceremony.	Exchange of ceremonial baskets of taro. Much food given by bride's mother to bridegroom's relatives.

MARRIAGE PAYMENTS

It is recommended in *Notes and Queries* (1929 ed., p. 101) that the investigator should 'employ the native term in describing or referring to payments or gifts made by the groom or his group to the father or group of the bride'. Among the people of North Bougainville there would appear to be no special designation for this transaction. Since it always takes the form of strings of *imun* or *beroan*, which I have described as 'ceremonial currency' (for reasons given in Chapter XII), I have used this phrase in connexion with the marriage payments, supplementing it, where the context seemed to render this advisable, by the words 'handed over in respect of a wife'. This is, admittedly, clumsy, but it states exactly what takes place, without begging the question of its significance, while none of the more convenient expressions proposed in the extensive correspondence that has been going on over this matter seems to be entirely without objection. (See *Man*, 1929–33, *passim*.)

In the area with which this book is concerned, neither the ritual nor the social aspects of the situation seem to be considered of importance. The currency which changes hands is definitely not a symbolical token marking 'the sealing of a contract', nor is it an 'indemnity' or 'payment of compensation to a group that loses a member'. The many discussions I had with the natives, both men and women, leave me in no doubt whatever that they do, actually, regard it as a financial transaction exactly on the same lines as any other purchase, but of more importance than most, the use of ceremonial currency being confined to very special occasions (see Chap. XII, pp. 446–9). Nowadays, actual coin sometimes changes hands instead of strings of shell disks and teeth. One father of my acquaintance demanded £10 in shillings for his daughter, which her suitor thought was too dear! The word for the handing over of the currency, *wen*, is the same as that which is used for 'pay' in speaking of any commercial transaction involving ordinary buying and selling (which in this community is usually performed through the medium of barter). In speaking of illicit

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832 The morning you intend to do this you must not have had sexual intercourse with anybody the night before. You must not defecate until after you have finished making the medicine. Both these are very strong taboos. You must not go with all the other men to the beach when they get up. You must get up alone, at dawn, when all the other people are still asleep. Take some *magor* with you into the bush, cut a piece of the [824] stem of the creeper *karavetan* (a parasitic plant with a thick juicy stem, unidentified). Hang it up on a tree. Clean it well with your knife. Get ready to call out the name of the woman you want. Cut the piece of stem in two with your knife, with one sharp stroke, at the same time calling out quickly the name of the woman. Then rub *magor* on the cut end and drink the sap that runs out, mixed with the *magor*. Then spit it out, and say:

'*Kuvian sen its imoin me mon owa, ne en ton rēs wē ma ia ini pio.*'
'Kuvian' (the name of the *urar*), 'you copulate first with this woman and then you bring her and give her to me.'

You must not go straight to the woman, but wait for a time when all the people have gone to the bush to work. When you want to go to her, take a leaf of *karavetan* and heat it in the fire, then press it on your eyes. Then take the leaf and hang it up in your hut, in the rafters over your bed. As the leaf withers, the woman will think of you, and then when she sees you she will desire you.

This is a very secret thing. It must not be told to every one. Most [437 424] people do not know it. If I wish I can tell it to a member of my own clan. If men of another clan wish to know it, they pay very highly for it, with *beroan* and paint and axes and knives.

Another form of magic was given to the man who told it to me, by his own particular *urar*, Butchiar, in a dream. He said he had tried it on a certain woman, and it worked very well. He asked me not to tell it to any of his own people, or to let them know that he had given it to me.

First call on the *urar* Butchiar, and say these words:
'*Butchiar tar na pi mon arawa, rēs ka ma ne, rēs me mon, io mayin no ia.*'
'Butchiar, look at that woman there, bring her, bring the woman, I want her.'

Then watch till you see the woman eating. As she takes a mouthful, say: '*Kalat!*' As she chews, say: '*Dami!*' As she swallows, say: '*Kumom!*' (The man could give no meaning for these words, he said he got them from the *urar*.) This talk will turn the woman's belly to you, and she will think about you. She will ask you for water, but you must not give her any, you must run away from her.

When she goes to sleep the next night she will see you, and will think

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2*s.* in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm /// /// /// ... /. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tobar*.

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for them to be on the road. The next day, several had to get up and go down early because they had nothing to eat.

In the case of those villages which are unfortunate in not possessing sufficient land of suitable quality for growing enough taro to meet their requirements, the women make regular trips to trade with the women of other villages, obtaining taro in exchange for other commodities, chiefly fish. Details of this system of barter will be found in Chapter XII.

The usual methods of cooking taro are either to boil it in a native pot (lined with banana leaves, which also cover the top, tucked in over the contents), or to roast it by laying it on the embers of a smouldering fire. In both cases it is first peeled or scraped (*kuiskuis*) with a knife (*nanes*) made of a black-lip oyster-shell which has been ground down to the hard pearly surface by rubbing on rough coral (Pl. 38, no. 3). These knives are preferred to trade knives for this purpose; the women say the trade knives spoil the taro. Two other kinds of shells, a conus (no. 4) and a dolium (no. 5), are occasionally used instead of the black-lip oyster. Taro is also cooked in a native oven (*ta'ō*). When a woman wishes to make such an oven (*nog a ta'ō*), she first scrapes out a hollow in the ground, probably inside the hut at the women's end of it, and then builds up a framework of sticks in it, by laying in two lines of sticks and some cross-pieces. This is then lighted from a smouldering log or the embers of a fire; when it has flamed up she places a quantity of round stones, about the size of a hen's egg, in the flames, and also throws on taro parings to make it flame up well. When the wood is burnt away and the stones are hot, water is thrown on the flames to make them die down and to produce steam, the food to be cooked is laid on the hot stones, and the whole is covered up with some of the hot stones and the dirt from the floor which was displaced in making the hole. The oven is left thus for several hours, being generally prepared in the evening and opened up on the following morning. When the cooked food has been taken out, the stones are carefully put away in a corner of the hut for future use.

Taro is never eaten raw; it would be as unpalatable as our own potatoes in the same state. It is liked either hot or cold, and is frequently prepared beforehand, placed in a basket made of plaited coco-nut leaves, and hung up in the rafters of the hut until required later in the day; it is not, however, kept for more than about twenty-four hours.

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oven prepared as above described. The scrapings of the coco-nut from which the liquid has been squeezed are eaten with great relish by the pigs. When thoroughly cooked, the packages are removed from the oven and kept in their wrappings until required for use, but they will not remain good for more than a few hours, so must be made not earlier than the day before they are required. When made up in the form of balls, the pudding is called *arorov*, in the form of the flat slabs which come out of the frames it is known as *menak*, or both kinds may be referred to as *kokoin*, a word which belongs to another dialect but is current throughout the area, being used in speaking pidgin-English.

This ceremonial pudding is the indispensable adjunct of every special occasion. It is either consumed on the spot, or given to visiting parties to take home with them. Presents of it are taken by guests to their host, who is required to reciprocate with similar packages on some future occasion. It is sometimes made especially for some individual as a mark of honour. Taro cooked in the ordinary way is always eaten along with it, as we eat bread with with some rather richly prepared dish. *Menak* is also made by using crushed canarium almonds instead of coco-nuts. This is considered a very great delicacy; it can be enjoyed only while the almonds are available.

Sweet potato and yam. These do not grow so readily here as in other parts of Bougainville, and are considered rather as a change from taro when they happen to be procurable, perhaps from other places by barter, than as staples of diet. I saw no yam vines equal in size or quantity to those of the mountain villages behind Kieta; the natives of the north coast say the soil is not very suitable for them. They are cooked in the same manner as taro, i.e. either boiled or roasted, but are not greatly enjoyed, being tough and stringy.

Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*, several species) is very much liked while it is available, making a welcome change from taro, which is eaten in smaller quantities during the bread-fruit season. The trees seem to be in bearing almost continuously, one crop starting after the other has fallen, but they take some time to ripen, so that the fruit is not always ready. During my year of residence bread-fruit was eaten in October and in January, but the time when it was most plentiful was during July and August. At the end of the latter month in walking through rather unfrequented portions

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term is *kūra*, which is apparently onomatopoeic, somewhat resembling the noise the creatures make in the bush. Each variety has its own name. One, called *lululayitʃ*, is said to come down with the rain. Some kinds have special conventions attached to their consumption (see p. 158).

Birds, especially pigeons, are much appreciated as a relish with taro. They are usually roasted whole on the embers and pulled apart with the fingers. Domestic fowls are rarely eaten, and seem to be kept only for the sake of the cock's tail feathers, which are valued as hair ornaments on ceremonial occasions. The eggs of the domestic fowl are left alone, but those of the little black bush fowl or megapode (*iowa*) are eaten with gusto when nearly ready for hatching. They are done up in little packages of leaves and cooked in hot embers, usually only on festal occasions. I failed to live up to my motto, 'Try anything once', when offered a packet of this delicacy.

When any one walking through the bush comes upon the partly decayed trunk of a fallen tree, he will root about in the soft wood in search of a particular kind of grub, yellowish-white in colour, with a body 2 or 3 inches long and perhaps half an inch thick. These are collected, taken home, and cooked, to serve as an additional 'relish' to the evening taro. They are said to be good eating because they have 'plenty of grease' (*momōna*).

3. *Sea food*

Pig being a luxury usually reserved for feasts, and other flesh food being somewhat scarce and hard to come by, the usual relish to a meal of taro consists of fish. The most highly prized of all fish is the bonito (*atūn*), but a great variety of fish can be obtained and nearly all are eaten. The various methods of catching them are described in Chapter IX.

Fish is generally cooked by being wrapped in leaves and roasted in the embers. I have never seen it being boiled. It may also be slightly smoked, so that it will keep for a short time (but never completely smoke-dried so as to be fit for storage.) In this half-smoked condition it plays the principal part as a medium of barter in the regular exchange of fish and taro which takes place between the women of different villages.

Many varieties of shell-fish are collected on the reef by the women and girls. These are boiled in native pots, and the fish is

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The leaves of A plant (Nets)

and another (*korowin*) were cut up into small pieces and put on these fires. [These leaves give rise to a dense smoke which spreads all over the ground. It is intended to drive away the *urar* who might wish to do harm to the taro when it is planted. The smoke of the *nets* blinds them so that they cannot see the taro. The smoke of the *korowin* is directed against pigs, it blinds them so that they will not be able to get into the garden and spoil the taro. This is intended as a protection against possible disaster in the future, since there is at this stage in the proceedings no taro on the site or anywhere near it. No other fires may be lit on or near the taro garden on that day.]

In the middle of each plot a stick between 2 and 3 feet high was set up and half a dry coco-nut shell balanced on the top of it. The taro, when planted, will look up at the coco-nut on the top of its stick and will try to grow up tall so as to hide it.

In the village a number of men were busy making ceremonial pudding. One package was made especially large, 5 to 6 feet long, a foot broad, and a couple of inches thick.

The next day the village rose in great excitement, the climax of a growing tension which had been evident for some days. (There had been a *kōma* almost every night for about a week before.) The people cut and combed their hair, and covered their heads with black paint. Some of them also put paint on their faces, outlining the forehead with white and putting red dots or streaks on their cheeks and red on their ears.

Matēv, the woman of most importance in the village, carried the packages of ceremonial pudding down to the garden, a distance of about three miles. I accompanied her. When we arrived several other women pulled up a quantity of taro from another garden in the neighbourhood and went off to Tarongen to barter it, by appointment, with the women of Saposa for half-smoked fish to use as a relish, the occasion not being of sufficient importance to warrant the killing of pigs.

Other women brought down some specially selected taro stalks which had been obtained several days before, in exchange for pots, from the women of Baniu, where the soil is said to be better and the taro finer. All the taro stalks were laid out in piles in a shady place, and the tubers carefully cut off with black-lip oyster-shell knives. The stalks were then left heaped up in the shade for the time being. On top of the heaps were placed bundles of *ōts*, a plant

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304 852 sacrilege. The ceremony for Nawi was actually arranged, and Nawi was escorted over to Baniu for the purpose, but she and another girl ran away and hid in the bush, a third was ill, and as only one more child was ready for it, the ceremony was abandoned. When I left the island they were still uncertain whether it would be held at all.

The subjoined account of the procedure was obtained mainly from Pari, one of the older women, herself a woman of rank and heavily marked. As usual, it was commented upon freely by the audience, who prompted her when she left out any detail they considered of importance.

[887] The cutting is done by old women. Some people are well known for their skill, and are much in demand. The names of three were [614] given to me, one at Tabut, one at Ruri, and one at Timputs. The woman usually belongs to the same clan as the child, e.g. a Nakarib woman will not, as a rule, undertake to cut a Naboin child; she would be too much ashamed. But if the child's mother's people, i.e. his relatives of the Naboin clan, very much desire the cutting to be done by a certain woman, she may be persuaded to undertake it even though she belongs to the Nakarib clan.

304 565 437 If the child is *tsunaun* and has an elaborate pattern, a fathom of *imun* (currency made of flying fox or porpoise teeth, worth about £5 in native opinion) may be paid for the operation. The child's mother pays it direct to the woman herself. For a commoner, other things of less value are given.

304 852 The children are not told what is going to happen to them. If they find out they often run away.

On the day before that fixed for the operation, a basket is filled with the black-lip oyster-shell knives which are to be used. This basket is rubbed over the back of a pig, which is then allowed to run away. The purpose of this action is to prevent the skin of the child from being hard and difficult to cut. All the women take the basket in turn and carry it round and round as they *kōma*. They *kōma* all night.

Next day the people all collect, and some men go and cut poles to make a platform for the child to lie upon. The women carry the poles back to the village, each woman carrying one. When they reach the village they put the poles on their shoulders and walk round in a circle and *kōma* with them. Then they are laid on the ground in front of the principal house. The men put in posts for

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XII

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

IN this chapter I shall endeavour to bring together what information I could obtain concerning material possessions, their acquisition, ownership, and inheritance.

BARTER

A well-organized and to some extent standardized system of barter takes place regularly between various villages. The word used for such an organized exchange of commodities is *toan* in the Petats dialect and *tog* in the Kurtatchi dialect. The most important arrangement of this kind is the exchange of fish and taro between coastal and inland villages. Few villages are so fortunate in their geographical situation as to be self-contained as regards both these essentials to existence. The land near the coast is not very good for growing taro; the inland peoples have only the small amount of fish they can take from the rivers. There are, therefore, at short intervals, prearranged meetings of the women of one village with the women of another for the exchange of these commodities at fixed rates. Certain villages trade regularly with certain others, but their operations may also, on occasion, extend farther afield.

The people of Petats are well situated in respect of facilities for fishing, but they have little ground suitable for growing taro. The exchange from this village is therefore with the villages of the hill districts of central Buka, where taro grows well. The meeting-place is either on the coast of Buka or on the Government road running through the centre of the island, at some spot about halfway between the two places, so that the distance is not excessive for either party. The trips are made several times a week, except in very unfavourable weather, sometimes on consecutive days if fish are plentiful. For example, parties went from Petats on Oct. 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 23. They start before dawn, especially when a canoe journey of some length is involved, because there is generally less wind than later in the day. Sometimes one or two men will accompany the party to help with the paddling, but they take no part in the bartering. It is the duty of the husband, or

437 failing him, brother, son, or other male relative, to provide fish
437 for exchange. Sometimes a man would apologize for not selling
438 me some fish for which I had asked him, on the ground that his
wife would not have enough for the *toan* next day. A supply is
[251] sometimes prepared in advance by half-smoking the fish so that
they will keep for a short time. Each woman's load is her personal
[422] property, and the goods for which she exchanges it are also her
property, for the use of her own household. There is no pooling.
If they are short of fish they will sometimes supplement it with
sticks of tobacco.

437 I accompanied my friends from Petats on several trips to the
mainland of Buka for this purpose. When the two parties met,
packs were undone and a rapid inspection of fish and counting out
of taro took place. The people of each party kept together; they
went round holding out the goods they had to offer, and the buyers
saw to it that the fish were of the appropriate size for the number
of taro offered in exchange. I saw one woman try hard to obtain
two small fish for four taro, but eventually she had to be content
with one. Sometimes they would get very excited and snatch the
fish and taro from each other, or two women would grab the same
article, almost tearing it in pieces. Two of the Buka women
brought loads of dried opossum, and these also were exchanged for
[571] fish. The whole affair was got over as quickly as possible; there
was very little gossip, and it was clearly regarded as a business, not
a social occasion. Both sides began their homeward journey as
soon as the exchange was finished, not stopping to chat or to chew
betel, though we usually sat down to do so as soon as we were well
[609] out of sight. Even now, there is a certain amount of distrust
between the people of the coast and the people of the hills, though
relations are outwardly friendly.

437 The fish-taro exchange is a permanent feature in the life of all
438 the villages in this area. In the case of exchanges between distant
[211] villages, appointments are made from one meeting to the next by
exchanging bits of string in each of which a knot has been tied for
each day which is to elapse before the next excursion. Some
specified individual is in charge of the string, and cuts off one knot
each day till the time arrives. On the occasions on which I accom-
panied the party, we seldom waited for more than a short time
before the other people arrived. Once, when they were rather
longer in coming, some of the women wanted to go farther along

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the road to meet them, instead of waiting where we were, but this was vetoed by the older women as not being the proper thing to do.

There is no ceremonial attached to these journeys, but there are 'medicines' which may be used to ensure getting good bargains. A typical one from Kurtatchi runs as follows: Before setting out with a load, chew the root of the plant *wakalau* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture and spit on the taro, then the other people will like it and will buy plenty and pay much fish for it.

This exchange is carried on regularly between the following places in the area with which this book is chiefly concerned:

Fish from Petats and other islands off the west coast of Buka exchanged for taro from the hill villages of the centre of the island, especially Gagan, Potaki and Sapani. Meeting place: an agreed spot on the Government road running through the centre of the island. Rates: 1 large fish for 12 taros, 1 medium-sized fish for 6 taros.

Fish from the Saposa islands, off the north-western corner of Bougainville, for taro from the Hahon people of the northern foothills, who come down to the coast at an agreed spot, opposite the Saposa islands. Also from the Kunua people farther inland and to the western side of Bougainville, who come down to the coast at a place called Kavetch, some miles down the western coast. Since this involves a journey of some distance for the Saposa people it is made at longer intervals. Saposa also exchanges its fish for the taro of the Sēlō people and those of Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville, who have good ground in the north-western peninsula. Meeting-place: the southern shore of the peninsula, on Soraken Bay. Rates: With the mountain people, 10 fish for 10 taros. With the Sēlō people, 2 fish for 6 taros. These rates are said to have been fixed for them by Morena, the 'culture heroine' from whom they trace their origin as explained in Chapter II. That was the only explanation given when I inquired as to the reason for the difference in the exchange between the two places. It is possible that the fear with which the mountain people of Central Bougainville are still regarded by the coastal people may have something to do with the favourable rates accorded to them.

Saposa also figured in an exchange in the reverse direction, giving taro to Kurtatchi in exchange for smoked fish on several occasions when Kurtatchi needed extra taro for some special

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435 reason. They met at Tarongen, on the south coast of the north-
437 western peninsula. Rates: 1 *rabas* (unit of 6 taros, in the Kurtatchi
438 dialect) for a big fish or 2 small ones.

437 A variation of this system occurs on Buka, whereby the women
438 from the village desiring taro go and dig it up from the gardens of the people of Sumoun, the hill district of the southern portion of Buka. The Petats people call this arrangement *sosoat*, and regard it as distinct from the *toan*, where the taro is brought to meet them. In this case also fish are given in exchange. Unfortunately I have no details as to whether the rates differ in the two methods.

A great many other commodities are bartered in similar fashion, at intervals according to the requirements of the villages concerned. I append a list of the principal exchanges which came under my personal observation during my residence.

(i) *Women's hoods for pots.*

The Petats women are considered experts at making the hoods worn by the women in the presence of certain male relatives (see Chap. II, p. 73). On fine days, when the leaves dry well, almost the whole female population of the village is engaged in making a supply of these, which they keep in reserve. They are exchanged for pots with the people of Malasang, the only potters in the district, at the rate of 1 large hood for 1 large pot, or 1 small hood for 1 small pot.

(ii) *Taro and pots for lime.*

The people of the hill district of Buka cannot make lime because they have no beach from which to collect the coral. They give the Petats people taro and pots (the latter previously obtained from Malasang) in exchange for it. I have no note of the rates.

(iii) *Pots for taro stalks to plant.*

435 When the Kurtatchi people need especially fine taro stalks for
437 planting a new garden, they trade with the Baniu people, whose ground is held to be better suited for the growing of good taro. On
438 one occasion, soon after we had paid a visit to Malasang and were in consequence well supplied with pots, we met the Baniu women on the Government road about half-way between the two places, and exchanged our pots for their taro stalks. Rates: a very large pot for 10 *rabas* (1 *rabas* = 6 taros), a middle-sized pot for 5 *rabas*,

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PLATE 73

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BARTER OF TARO FOR *KŌBŌ*

[facing p 442]

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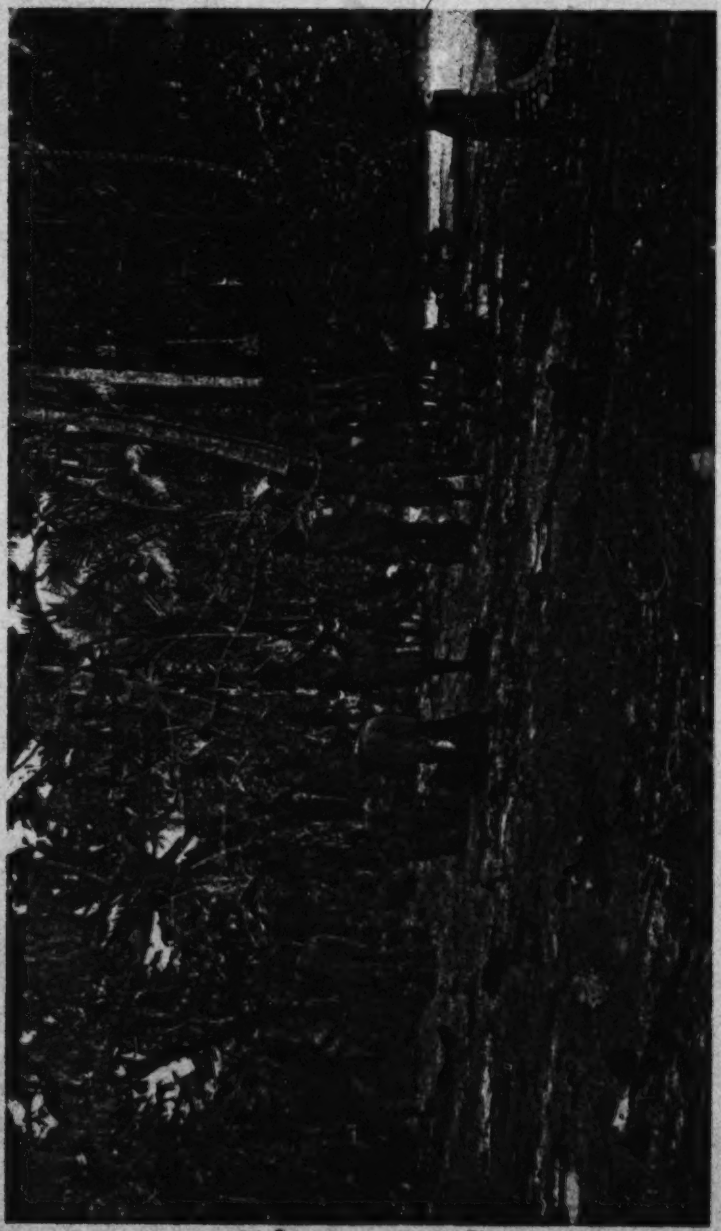
PLATE 74

●437



BARTER OF POTS FOR TARO

[facing p 443]

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a small one for 3 *rabas*. One of our party also produced a small trade hatchet, for which she got 10 *rabas* of taro.

(iv) *Taro for* kōbū.

The people of Kurtatchi have not a great supply of areca-nut palms, from the sheath of which they make the trays or supports used in carrying burdens. They therefore trade for them with the Sēlō people, giving taro in exchange (Pl. 73). Meeting-place: the Government road about half-way between the two places. Rates: load for load, irrespective, apparently, of quantity. The *kōbū* were packed inside one another, so that a woman carried a bundle consisting of six or seven. A load of taro is as much as a woman can pack into a *kōbū* and carry on her back; the capacities of different women differ considerably. But no haggling seemed to occur.

(v) *Bread-fruit for sweet potatoes.*

The Tabut people have a good number of bread-fruit trees, and when the bread-fruit is ready they exchange for sweet potatoes which they do not grow in their gardens, with the people of Ruri. Meeting-place: the Government road—on the occasion on which I accompanied them, the Ruri women came almost as far as Tabut. Rates: load for load. Representative loads of bread-fruit were respectively 17, 21, and 35 in number; loads of sweet potatoes consist of as many as a woman can pack into her *kōbū*. There was no haggling as to whether two given loads were of equal value.

(vi) *Pots for paint.*

The Ruri women came to Tabut to buy pots, offering black paint (*tʃima*) (see p. 417) in exchange. Rate: 1 medium-sized pot for 1 bamboo full of paint (the paint is packed in joints of bamboo about 2 inches in diameter and 2–2½ feet long). On another occasion the Kurtatchi women bought pots from Tabut at the same exchange. They said the paint came from Tiop and had been paid for with pipes which they had obtained from Buka.

(vii) *Taro for pots.*

Some women from Malasang came to Tarongen in several canoes, bringing a supply of pots for sale. The Kurtatchi women went to meet them with loads of taro. The pots were laid out on

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435 the beach and the taro piled up in heaps (Pl. 74). Each woman
437 went round inspecting the various pots and chose the ones she
438 wanted; she then indicated to the owner of the pots chosen what taro she was prepared to give for them. If the owner approved the transaction took place. There was no haggling.

(viii) *Buying pots at Malasang.*

On the occasion when I went with a party from Kurtatchi to buy pots at Malasang, we all paid in trade goods, loin-cloths, tobacco, pipes, &c., at the rate of three sticks of tobacco (worth about a shilling in the native reckoning) for a medium-sized pot, four or five sticks for a large one, two sticks for a very small one. A pipe was considered the equivalent of three sticks of tobacco; a loin-cloth of inferior quality the same, one of better quality being taken as equivalent to six sticks.

437 *Other exchanges.* The exchanges just described were more or
438 less standard, and took place repeatedly. Others appear to be rather of the nature of isolated transactions, though doubtless they too are repeated as occasion requires. A few of those which came under my notice are here listed.

While I was staying at Tabut some men from Gogoiv in Buka came over in a *mon* trying to sell pipes, which are made on Buka where there is suitable clay. They wanted money—a shilling each—for them instead of goods, so they did not do any business!

On another occasion some men from the island of Pororan came to Ratsoa, on the mainland of Bougainville, some little way inland up a river, bringing women's hoods and sleeping-mats, neither of which are made by the Bougainville natives. This involved a canoe journey taking most of the day and including the somewhat difficult transit of Buka Passage. All the villages for some distance round sent envoys to make purchases, they paid in money, tobacco, and loin-cloths. I was not present on this occasion, and as no one went from Kurtatchi, I cannot give the rates.

A man from Pororan once visited the village of Kurtatchi bringing women's hoods, pipes, and fishing baskets of a kind not made at Kurtatchi. He exchanged at the following rates:

[435] 1 hood = 1 bamboo of red paint (*oin*).
1 pipe = 1 small package of *oin*, wrapped up in leaves.
1 basket = 1 *kŏbŭ*.

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Journeys of some length are not uncommon. Two men from Kurtatchi, and the wife of one of them, set out on a trip to Numanuma, on the east coast of Bougainville, in company with women from Ruri, in order to purchase supplies of paint. They took with them several strings of trade beads, some tobacco, and some shillings. They went in a *mon*, leaving soon after sunrise, intending to sleep at Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner. Leaving Tiop when the morning star Sowitoan had risen, they would reach Numanuma soon after sunrise. They expected the people of the mountains to meet them there with the paint; if they did not, they would go on a little farther to another village. They were to buy *oin*, *tʃina*, *owan*, *itsu*, and *wiwi* (these are described on p. 416 f.). Sleeping at Tiop on the way back, they expected to be at Kurtatchi in the course of the following morning. They told me this before leaving, and did actually return to the village at the time scheduled. Rates: 1 bamboo of *oin* (the most valuable paint) = 3 sticks of tobacco (equal to about a shilling). The other paints were paid for at a somewhat cheaper rate, the quantities obtained for 3 sticks of tobacco being larger.

Parties of men in a *mon* used to go from Lontis and Hanahan to the island of Nissan (see p. 381) to buy pigs, for which Nissan is famous. On these trips the pigs are sometimes paid for in ceremonial currency; one fathom of *imun* (see p. 448) will purchase a medium-sized pig.

Some other rates of exchange which I obtained in course of inquiry are as follows:

A slit-gong may be purchased for 1 fathom of *imun*, 1 fathom of *beroan*, and 10 bamboos of red paint (*oin*).

In the olden days a good stone axe cost 10 bamboos of *oin*.

A *mon* for bonito fishing, with two planks, which the people of Petats were considering buying from Lontis, was to be paid for with one female pig, not very large; a number of women's packs, consisting of *kōbū* and wide strips of prepared banana fibre used both to increase the capacity of the *kōbū* and also to sling it from the shoulders; and some spears, the actual number had not been agreed upon. When I asked why they did not make a *mon* for themselves, they said they had not enough 'putty nut'. They admitted that they could have obtained supplies of this from Buka, but they preferred to buy the *mon* ready made.

A chain of exchanges which came to my notice is interesting as

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437 438 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods. The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*), which was destined eventually to form part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 439 465 651 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the Government head-tax of 10*s*. on each adult male. The goods generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths, trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of scent.

435 439 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a *fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price of a pig.

CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 171 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun 436

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [584]
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627]
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*. [766]
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart, 436 437

[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hiba*.

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436 or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings 437 of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

476 A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help those who have given their services when they are in similar need. [574] As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is [422] described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito [226] fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch, and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several, he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch is distributed among the people of the village.

764 Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it was the second child that had died in the same family within a few days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the 764 parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed 431 to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

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household pets, and calls them by name.[1] They roam about the village or the bush at will, but come morning and evening to their owner's hut to be fed when called. I have frequently seen women and children caressing them, but do not know of any case in which they have been suckled by women, though this may quite possibly occur, as reported from other areas. Village pigs have their ears slit as a mark of identification, and the males are castrated, which is regarded as a means of identifying them when they are caught in the nets meant for wild pigs, though the reason given for carrying out this operation is that they will not be so wild and so likely to run away. (See further discussion of this question in Chapter III.) No attempt is made to breed, but the females have plenty of opportunity of foregathering with bush pigs, so that the supply is maintained in spite of this custom. The litter belongs to the person who owns the mother. Sometimes young pigs are taken over to Baniu to be cared for there, because 'the ground is better for them' there than at Kurtatchi. In this case, when the sow farrows, the Baniu people are given a piglet for their trouble.

On the occasion of a major feast, pigs are contributed by each person concerned in any respect, according to his ability, assessed by the *tsunaun*. Some months before the *watawutf* ceremony was due to be held, Pinari went round to some of the villages whose boys were to take part in it, leaving at every house a short length of bamboo; this was an indication that such a house was to provide a pig for the associated feast, the family would then set aside a certain pig for that purpose.

The pigs belonging to a person of rank are killed at his death to provide food for the people who come to wail.

Wild pigs killed in the bush are the property of the huntsman. If a concerted drive is made with nets, the pigs caught belong to

[1] Some pigs are named after the place they came from, or the person from whom they were obtained. Some are given names reminiscent of events which happened at the time they were born, e.g. 'Kwigin', for a pig born when the *upi* boys were being given food by the *kwigin* (older men) in the bush, prior to the *watawutf* ceremony. Some contain a sly allusion to somebody's personal idiosyncrasy: 'Guruskiu', 'Sleeps over his work'; 'Muwapuin', 'Eats herself and gives none away'. Other names refer to a physical peculiarity of the pig: 'Pipipispan', 'One ear cut, one ear not cut'. Not infrequently there is a dig at the white man. One pig was called by the name of a planter whom the natives much disliked, this was intended as an insult. Another was called 'Whiteman'. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told: 'The white people give their pigs names of our people, so we called our pig "Whiteman".'

On the Shortland Islands a very crude sort of money, which is called 436
mâuli locally, is made for commerce with the inhabitants of the Crown 171
Prince Range; the mountain people call this money âputa. It consists of a conus mussel, whose pointed end has simply been broken off and whose upper end has been pierced so that it can be strung; the individual shells are about 7 millimeters wide and 7 millimeters in diameter.

[23] In the mangrove regions of Buka and north Bougainville you frequently find the shells of a bivalve, which are strung on a string by the hundreds. These strings also are used as money for trade with the mountain [439] people.

Although the previously described objects represent the value of 437
actual money, this still does not imply that the natives use only these objects as media of exchange in commerce among themselves and with their neighbors. Rather, all their superfluous possessions are also used for this same purpose. The agricultural mountain inhabitants swap fruit to the coastal inhabitants for fish; armrings of tridachna and conus, as well as woven armrings, are favorite barter objects when it is a matter of trading for spears, bows and arrows; and scarcely an object can be mentioned that does not represent a certain market value.

Household Equipment

The household equipment on the northwestern Solomon Islands is 323
practically the same from Buka to Shortland, even though local variations [171]
occur. Characteristic for this region is the knowledge of pottery-making. Cooking pots of baked clay, but without a glaze, are to be found in every house. The method of manufacture is the same everywhere: first the clay is carefully kneaded and freed of all pebbles; then the potter (the making of pots is exclusively the affair of the women) takes a fist-size piece into her hands and, using a round stone and a wooden spatula, she forms the bottom of the container; when this part is finished, strips of clay of about 10 to 20 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 centimeters in width are placed on the edge of the finished base; with her left hand the potter holds the round stone on the inner surface and fits the edges together with the dampened spatula. In this way strip after strip is built up until the pot is finished. In order to handle the pot more easily, they prepare a ring of